

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Vol. 88.—No. 1.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 4TH, 1835.

[Price 1s. 2d.]



## CHURCH PROPERTY.

### TO THE PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

MY FRIENDS, *London, 2. April, 1835.*

AFTER a residence of twelve days in the country in order to get rid of a hoarseness, the consequence of a cold which I caught in the north, the relics of which hoarseness still stick to me, and will for about ten days longer, I am here for the purpose of giving my vote at least, and if possible my reasons for that vote, in support of the motion of my Lord John Russell. I have not yet been able to get an opportunity of stating these reasons to the House; and it is quite probable, that as the debate will close this evening I may not find that opportunity even to-day; for three nights I have sitten from half after four o'clock till past twelve, to listen to a debate on this most important subject; namely, *whether the Parliament have the rightful power to take the proceeds of tithes from the Church and all its clergy, and to dispose of those proceeds unto any other purpose that it may choose.*

This is the real question upon which the House of Commons has been debating. The RESOLUTION INDEED of Lord John Russell goes on to express, that it would be right to dispose of the surplus, if there be any, of the Irish tithes for the purpose of general education of persons of all religions in Ireland. But, if the Parliament can do so of tithes in this way, it can dispose of them in any other way; so that the only question is as to the right of Parliament to take

away, or alienate, what is called church property. Now, you know well that it is my opinion that this right in the Parliament is undoubted. In my "Legacy to Parsons," which will be published in a few days, I have proved this in a manner so complete that I never can receive an answer from any body. I have proved also that it is *right and expedient for the Parliament to do it, both with regard to the church in Ireland and in England.*

During this debate I have heard more *fine speaking*, and the promulgation of *more error*, than I ever before listened to in my life; and I cannot refrain from expressing, with some degree of gratitude, the very great pleasure which I enjoyed during the delivery of the speeches of Lord Howick on the one side, and of Mr. Gladstone and the Solicitor-General on the other side. Lord John Russell's speech was good, but with those of the other three gentlemen I was delighted beyond measure. They made me forget the suffocation which I was enduring from the crowded state of the House.

It is right that I make you acquainted with some circumstances relative to this motion, which, without this explanation from me, you would not clearly understand.

You will please to remember, that when Mr. Ward, last year, made a similar motion, the then Ministry *opposed it*, upon the ground that they *did not know whether there were any surplus or not*; that they had appointed a commission to inquire into the facts; and that it would be improper to pass any such resolution until that commission had made its report.

Now, that commission has not yet made its report, though it is upon the point of making it. Therefore, the Minister says, Why do you press this resolution now? Why not wait until the report be made? To this Lord John Russell very frankly answers: We tender this resolution to you, in order that we may ascertain, at once, whether your intended mode of governing Ireland *be such as the House of Commons approve of*; because

if it be not, it would be criminal in the House of Commons to go on putting supplies into your hands, you carrying on a system of government which the House of Commons disapproves of!

Well; it is then, you will plainly see, a motion intended to *displace the Ministers*. And I beg you to observe, that as far as I am concerned, there is no such motive existing. You have not sent me here to make or unmake Ministers; you have sent me to protect your purses as far as I am able, and to cause your rights to be restored. I am sorry, therefore, that this motive is so manifest in the proposing of this resolution; I am sorry that the great principle of the resolution is inseparable from this the object of the resolution; but, the *principle is there*; and I must vote for that principle; unless I be prepared to abandon every opinion that I have ever expressed to you upon the subject. You will easily conceive the impossibility of my writing to you at any length on this subject at this time. Going to bed at two o'clock in the morning is not the way to be able to write. But I must make you acquainted, even now, with the state in which we are as to the powers of Government, and with the prospects that we have before us in this respect. An argument, and, indeed, the great argument, with the gentlemen on the Tory side of the House, is this: "If you, the Whigs, put us out of our places, *how are you* to carry on the affairs of the King? You cannot do it without calling the '*Destructives*' to your aid." And with the exception of the false and libellous meaning and application of the term "*destructive*," this question is very pertinent, and this assertion very true. The Whigs cannot carry on the affairs of the King, without yielding to what both factions term "*destructives*." I do not mean that they must *take them into the Ministry*; but I mean to say this, that let who will place themselves on the Treasury bench, they cannot long sit there, and can never have one moment's security or peace there, UNLESS THEY GIVE THEIR ASSENT TO A GREAT LIGHTENING OF THE BURDENS OF THE PEOPLE. Now I beseech you to rely upon my judgment as

to this matter. The church cannot stand *as it is*: the monstrous wrongs which its laws do to the Dissenters must be redressed: my Manchester propositions with regard to the debt and the church must, in the end, be adopted: the malt-tax, the poor-law bill must be, in the end, repealed. But *a lightening of the burdens of the people* is absolutely necessary NOW, in order to give any Ministry time to breathe; time to consider of the changes necessary to be made in order to preserve this present form of government.

It is a strange thing, but not more strange than true, that no men in power ever appear to perceive the influence, the irresistible influence of that SILENT public opinion which, in the end, determines every thing that is of great importance. Sir R. Peel, from a relying upon the sayings and the votings of those immediately around him; relying upon the co-operation of the opposite party; scorned the opinion that a repeal of the malt-tax would tend to give him security; but I venture to say, and to assure you, that, if he had yielded upon that point, he never would have heard of this present resolution. It is very likely that my Lord John Russell never thought of that matter any more than Sir R. Peel did; but, if Sir Robert had yielded upon that point, the praises of him would have been heard from one end of the country to the other; and without any process of reasoning upon the subject, Lord John Russell would have FELT that he would not have had the countenance of the country in bringing forward any motion, the manifest object of which was to turn out of his place the Minister who had assented to the repeal of a tax so severely felt by ninety-nine hundredths of the people. If, therefore, he had assented to that repeal, and with a good grace, and had not urged on the horrible Poor-law Bill, he would have had *time to breathe* as to all other matters; and I can speak for myself and my honourable colleague, that we should have waited patiently for *glorious* good, and not have given our countenance, by any means, to any thing having a tendency to harass or embarrass him. Nothing could be more reasonable than his demand of a "*fair trial*"; but, with us,



as you well know, the *malt-tax* and the *Poor-law bill* were to be the *test*. He has, in our opinion, failed in the trial; and, therefore, we are at liberty to oppose him; to do every thing, if we think fit, in other respects consistent with our duty, to cause power to be taken out of his hands. Our main duty is, to endeavour to better the lot of the working millions of this kingdom: with this object before us, every thing else must sink out of our consideration. You will understand that this is our great duty; and I trust that you are confident that we shall discharge it to the utmost of our power.

My friends, how often have I told you, and how often have you expressed your concurrence in my opinion, that the enormous debt and taxation must produce a very great change in the affairs of this country, and in the mode of governing it. You see that the difficulties go on increasing; and be you assured that, to collect fifty millions of taxes a year, with wheat at four or five shillings a bushel, must in a short time, produce a state of things in which it will be impossible for all the powers on earth to prevent the occurrence of events, such as I do not deem it prudent to describe to you. It is nonsense to talk of parties, and of majorities and minorities; here is a cause at work which is not to be resisted, and not to be controlled in the smallest degree, by any thing short of a total change in the fiscal and the pecuniary affairs of the country; short of that or of the immediate interposition of divine Providence itself. In your huddled-up situation, with your eyes necessarily fixed on your own affairs; with your attention constantly turned to mechanical operations, and to transactions and prices immediately connected with the effects of your wonderful ingenuity and industry, it is not easy for you to transfer that attention, however quick and docile your minds, so as to have a correct idea of the situation of the millions spread all over the kingdom, and dependent, whether in villages or towns, solely upon agriculture. But let me beg you to reflect for one moment, on what must inevitably be the ultimate consequence to the whole body of farmers, *nine-tenths of whom are notoriously in*

*a state of insolvency*; of millions of labourers and their families, to whom those farmers are unable to give food and clothing, in exchange for their labour, while the land is becoming barren for the want of that labour. Think of this for one moment, and you have too much sense not to know that your fate is inseparable from the fate of these millions: think of this for one moment; wait with patience; but be prepared to act the part which your sense and your virtue have induced you hitherto to act, when these causes shall have led to these events, which must finally come, with as much certainty as the hour of your and my death.

I take this opportunity of repeating to you the expression of my gratitude for the great honour that you have done me, which I always regard as more than a compensation for all the labours of a very long life, and for all the sufferings of every description which the performance of those labours has brought upon me. With these sentiments I remain your faithful friend and representative,

WM. COBBETT,

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TO THE  
READERS OF THE REGISTER.

WHAT I have written above, in the letter to my constituents, must be my apology for postponing the writing on two or three other subjects, on which I intended writing this week.

My "*LEGACY TO PARSONS*" would have been published on Saturday, or early next week, had it not been for this most important question in Parliament. In the room (*brick-floor*) at my farm house, three tables and a dresser I left covered over with books, big and little, making a cart-load; and therefore, if any one be disappointed at not having this little book so soon as I promised, I beg him to lay the blame upon Lord John Russell, who

is a great deal better able to bear it than I am.

With regard to this book (which is to be sold, bound in leather, for eighteen pence): I seldom do things by halves; very seldom half love, half hate, or half any thing; and, if any man in his senses, can read this book *through*, without being satisfied that true religion, as well as justice and sound policy, demand a separation of the church from the state, in England as well as Ireland, I should like to see that man, and to hear him tell me that he is not satisfied upon the subject. Talk of "*church reform*"! nobody disputes the great intellectual endowments of Sir R. Peel; but it is no disparagement of those endowments to say, that he does not perceive a thousandth part of the natural drift and tendency of the thing which he calls "*church reform*"; and it is not at all presumption in me, who, when the act 43 of Geo. III. was passed, foretold, that the parsons, who had obtained that act by their pressing petitions, had, therein, laid the foundation of the certain ruin of their church; not at all presumption in me, to believe that I understand this matter better than Sir R. Peel. I have always seen the vast weight and importance of this great establishment; I have always seen the great perils that must arise from its being put down; I see them still; but I see the *possibility of putting it down*, without pulling other things down along with it; and I see no possibility of supporting it much longer without pulling every thing down. I am well aware of the effect of my promulgating these opinions, and, especially, of my publishing the book of which I have been speaking; but I deem it my duty thus to promulgate and to publish; and every one must be convinced, whatever he may say to the contrary, that I am actuated by no censurable motive. Every one must know, that I cannot tarnish a life of such disinterestedness, by any desire to share in that scramble, which exists in the imagi-

nations of those who impute such motives to every one who makes a stand for the liberty and happiness of the country; every one must know, and be certain, that I can no more grasp any portion of public money, than I can grasp a piece of red-hot iron; every one must know now, at any rate, that I never had any ambition that is not now more than glutted; every one must now see me drawing close to the spot whence I first started; see me returning to those very pursuits with which my life began; must see me sidling up to the graves of my father and mother; and it must be almost a devil to believe that I can be actuated by any other motive than that of a desire to see my country restored to the state in which I found it. This has always been my creed, that it is my duty to endeavour to leave England as good as I found it. Up to this creed I have always acted; and up to it I shall act as long as there is life in my body or senses in my mind.

*In the Press.*

COBBETT'S

**LEGACY TO PARSONS;**

OR,

Have the Clergy of the Established Church an equitable right to the Tithes, or to any other thing called Church Property, greater than the Dissenters have to the same? And ought there, or ought there not, to be a separation of the Church from the State?

IN SIX LETTERS,

Addressed to the Church-Parsons in general, including the Cathedral and College Clergy and the Bishops.

WITH

A Dedication to BLOMFIELD, Bishop of London.

By WILLIAM COBBETT, M.P. FOR OLDHAM.

LONDON:

Price 1s. 6d., handsomely bound in leather.



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## DEDICATION.

TO JAMES BLOMFIELD, BISHOP OF LONDON.

*Normandy Farm, 9. March, 1835.*

BISHOP,

About six and twenty years ago, you drank tea at my house at BOTLEY, when you were a curate of some place in Norfolk; or a teacher to the offspring of some hereditary legislator. How rugged has my course been since that time: how thickly has my path been strewed with thorns! How smooth, how flowery, how pleasant, your career! Yet, here we are; you with a mitre on your head, indeed, and a crosier in your holy hands; I, at the end of my rugged and thorny path in a situation to have a right, in the name of the millions of this nation, to inquire, not only into your conduct, but into the utility of the very office that you fill.

It is now become a question, seriously, publicly, and practically entertained, whether you and your brethren of the established church should be legally deprived of all your enormous temporal possessions; and also, whether your whole order should not, as a thing supported by the law, be put an end to for ever. These questions must now be discussed. They are not to be shuffled off by Commissions

of Inquiry, or any other commissions: the people demand a discussion of these questions, and a decision upon them: the Parliament must discuss them; and, this little book, which I now dedicate to you, is written for the purpose of aiding us all in the discussion; so that we may come at last to a just decision.

I select you to dedicate my book to: first, because you were a zealous defender of the DEAD-BODY BILL, which consigns the corpses of the most unfortunate of the poor to be cut up by surgeons, instead of being consigned, with double and treble solicitude, to the care of a really Christian clergy, and provided with all the means and circumstances of the most respectful Christian burial.

Another reason is, that you were a *poor-law commissioner*; one of the authors of that book, which was slyly laid upon the table of the House of Commons, by the Whigs, in 1833; and one of the authors of that voluminous report and appendix, laid upon the table of the same House last year; on which report and appendix the *coarser-food bill* was passed; and in which report and appendix, you have communicated to the House of Commons the most infamous libels against me by name.

Another reason is, that you are a *church-reform commissioner*, under the present set of Ministers; and that I find, that, while you were Bishop of CHESTER, you made a G. B. BLOMFIELD, a prebendary of CHESTER, and that he now has, in addition to that prebend, two great church livings; namely, the rectory of CADDINGTON, and the rectory of TATTENHALL, each worth, probably, from a thousand to fifteen hundred pounds a year. Now, bishop, this is a very solid reason for addressing my little book to you; for, if you can talk of "*church-reform*," and about seeking for the *means of providing for the cure of souls*, while this BLOMFIELD has a prebend and two great rectories, it is pretty clear that you want a great deal of *enlightening* on the subject. If you do not, however, many other people do; and therefore it is, that I write and publish this little book, which is my LEGACY TO PARSONS, and which I most earnestly hope

will very soon be amongst the most valuable of their remaining temporal possessions. You will find the little book go to the **VERY BOTTOM** of the matter; that it will unveil all the mystery that has hung about this church for so many years; that it will leave the people nothing more to ask about the matter; and put them in a situation to determine reasonably, at once, either to submit to the most crying abuses that ever existed upon the face of the earth; or to put themselves in motion for the purpose of legally, but resolutely, effectually, and for ever, putting an end to this abuse.

WM. COBBETT.

## IRISH CHURCH.

### SPEECHES OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL AND SIR E. KNATCHBULL.

I CONFESS that I should not insert these speeches if I had time to write more myself. Nevertheless, they *ought* to be in the *Register*, especially the speech of Lord John, which has manifestly been published with his own corrections; for this will be a most memorable debate: it is just the *beginning* of a struggle which will and must end in most important consequences. The reader will perceive that the Ministers resolved, at once, upon a direct negative to the proposition of Lord John. Indeed they could not act otherwise, without giving up the church and all its property. Lord John's speech is a complete exposition of the views upon which the motion was founded: we must hereafter refer to it as a document of great authority; and we are to remember that it was delivered in the House of Commons, on the 30. day of March, 1835.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, who spoke as follows, making some allowance for the low tone of voice he employed:—I rise, fully sensible of the arduous task I have undertaken; but although I am well aware both of the difficulty of that task, and of the responsibility I incur, yet the confidence I feel in the nature of the question I am to bring forward diminishes much

of my anxiety, because I cannot but think that the clearness of the proposition I shall submit will compensate for any obscurity in the arguments I may use to enforce it. I am confident that the truth and justice of the cause will prevail over the weakness and incompetence of the advocate. With no further preface I am about to enter upon the consideration of the subject of the church of Ireland; and in doing so let me advert, in the first instance, to a motion made on the 22. of April in the last year. Mr. O'Connell, the Member for the City of Dublin, then introduced a motion for a committee to inquire into the means by which the Union with Ireland had been effected, and as to the expediency of continuing it. He was met by an amendment in the form of an Address to the Crown, which was carried by a large majority, and in the minority appeared only one member for England, and no member for Scotland. (Hear). The answer to the motion of the hon. and learned Member, therefore, was given by the representatives of England and Scotland, supported by a great part of those from Ireland. The Address was in these terms:—"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons, in Parliament assembled, feel it our duty humbly to approach your Majesty's throne, to record, in the most solemn manner, our fixed determination to maintain unimpaired and undisturbed the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, which we consider to be essential to the strength and stability of the empire, to the continuance of the connexion between the two countries, and to the peace, and security, and happiness of all classes of your Majesty's subjects. We feel this, our determination, to be as much justified by our views of the general interests of the state, as by our conviction that to no other portion of your Majesty's subjects is the maintenance of the legislative union more important than to the inhabitants of Ireland themselves. We humbly represent to your Majesty, that the Imperial Parliament have taken the affairs of Ireland into their most serious consideration, and that various salutary laws have been enacted, since the Union, for



the advancement of the most important interests of Ireland, and of the empire at large. In expressing to your Majesty our resolution to maintain the legislative union inviolate, we humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we shall persevere in applying our best attention to the removal of all just causes of complaint, and to the promotion of all well-considered measures of improvement." This Address was carried by the House to the foot of the throne, and his Majesty was pleased to return an answer, in which he stated that he should be "at all times anxious to afford his best assistance in removing all just causes of complaint, and in sanctioning all well-considered measures of improvement." This was the answer of his Majesty to the claim in the petitions of a large portion of the people of Ireland, enforced by a Member of this House, in whom they had the greatest confidence, and who undoubtedly possessed abilities to place his arguments in the best and strongest point of view. In pursuance of this answer, adopted by the House of Lords, and thereby becoming, as it were, a solemn compact between the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the people, given by the King, received by the Commons, and approved by the Lords, I am come before you to-day to represent to you what I consider "a just cause of complaint" by the people of Ireland, and to endeavour to induce you to take a step to obtain a "well-considered measure of improvement." (Hear, hear). I have referred to this discussion, not only on account of its strict connexion with my motion, but because I think it ought to refute any answer to it founded upon some supposed danger, some distant apprehension, that what we may do to remove a "just cause of complaint," and to adopt a "well-considered measure of improvement," with regard to Ireland, may have an injurious effect at some distant and indefinite time on one of the institutions of the country. (Cheers). I say you are not at liberty to put in that answer, and thus to bar a remedy. (Cheers). One of two things must be admitted: either you are prepared to do justice to Ireland—to consider her griev-

ances, and redress her wrongs—or you are not. But if you tell us that your position is such, that any measure of that kind would be injurious to England, and dangerous to her church establishment, which prevents the remedy of the abuses of the church of Ireland, you surely, then, have no right to say that it is fit to enforce the legislative union. You are not to tell us that you cannot listen to the well-founded grievances of Ireland, and are not prepared to do her justice, and yet insist on an adherence to the legislative union. I hold that such an answer would be most impolitic as regards Ireland, and most dangerous as regards the whole empire. I am one of those who think that, with perfect safety to the church of England, you may remedy what is defective in the church of Ireland (cheers); and may, therefore, persist in your demand for the preservation of the legislative union. I own I cannot understand how any Members of this House can be ready to confess their inability to consider the grievances of Ireland, on account of a remote and contingent apprehension; and yet can maintain, as absolutely as I do, that the legislative union ought not to be disturbed. With respect to the state of Ireland, it has long been, and is now, a source of great embarrassment to every Minister of this country. There is no doubt that the moral, no less than the physical condition of that people, is in a state of great degradation. With respect to the physical condition: with respect to the poverty and distress prevalent in Ireland; if I were to bring forward a motion on that subject, I should be obliged to state grounds for thinking that some measures were necessary; by assessment or otherwise, to lessen that serious evil. But that is a question of another kind, and for another day. The question which I have to consider is, the moral condition of the people, and how far the Church of England established in Ireland bears on that condition. Whether our acts of temporary coercion—our acts for enforcing the collection of tithes, or to compel the due administration of the law, have, or have not, been effectual, we do unhappily know that there exists a strong propensity to violence and out-



rage, not merely among the lawless and ill-regulated part of the community, but among all, or nearly all classes of the community. This state of things arises from an opinion that the law is not fairly and equally administered. Dreadful scenes of murder have been acted in various parts of Ireland. A murder was perpetrated, at one time, on a clergyman of a most unoffending character, and at another time a Roman Catholic fell a victim to the animosity of those whom he had never intended to injure. It not unfrequently has happened that an individual, wishing to preserve the safety of his own reason, has had more reason to fear the combination of those who set up against the law than the ministers who execute the law. It has too often happened that when justice has raised her head, a stronger power has resisted her efforts, her balance has been destroyed, and her sword turned aside from its purpose by the intervention of a multitude. Every relation of life, in Ireland, as Lord Melbourne said in the House of Lords last year, has been, and still is, liable to be disturbed by this lawless condition of affairs. The payment of rent, the settlement of wages between employer and servant, in short the conclusion of every bargain has been too frequently impeded by threats on the part of those who make the engagement, that to complete them would be attended with danger. If we look to the causes, although, no doubt, many might be named, yet we cannot help being struck by the fact, that there has been no time in the history of Ireland since this country obtained footing and dominion there, in which there was not some dreadful contest, something amounting to a civil war, and a state of law which induced the people to consider themselves rather as the objects of tyranny than the subjects of just government. It has happened by a kind of fatality, that those periods most remarkable and most glorious in English history, have been marked by indications of some new distinction, some new calamity in Ireland. (Hear). While we justly boast of the statutes passed in the reign of our first Edward, the inhabitants of Ireland were separated by difference of

place, and petitioned in vain for the benefit of English laws. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth, when the Reformation was so prosperously completed, and when the glory of England was so resplendent, not only in arms, but in arts and literature, the Irish suffered the most grievous oppressions, and a new distinction was introduced, viz., that distinction of which I shall have so much to say to day, changing the faith of the great body of the clergy, without the faith of the people undergoing the same change. (Cheers). Passing over the period of the Commonwealth, the great event of the Revolution, to which we look back with such proud and just satisfaction, when a new family was placed upon the throne, which led to the establishment of the house of Brunswick in these realms, was attended with new calamities to Ireland. New distinctions were made to the disadvantage of that unhappy people; and, on the score of religion, they were suspected of an attachment to the monarch whom England had banished. They were accordingly visited by laws which Mr. Burke truly designated as a barbarous collection: they were proscribed, humiliated, and degraded, and treated as enemies both to the throne and to the altar. At the same time, ingenuity was tormented to discover modes of restricting the trade of Ireland with our colonies, and the progress of internal improvement was industriously impeded. Such were the circumstances which in Ireland corresponded with the most glorious events of English history. In the end of the last and in the beginning of the present century, a better era, seemed promised to Ireland: many odious restrictions were removed, and she freed herself from bonds which had previously most unjustly confined her. The power of legislation was restored to her, and about this period some religious distinctions were removed, and she approached nearer to the enjoyment of equal laws and to the possession of civil rights. The conviction of a long course of injustice and suffering, which naturally impressed the minds of the people, induced them even in this dawn of a happier day, to look a little into the cause of improvement in their



prospects and condition. It was said by a statesman, of no democratic turn, no lover of popular innovation, the late Lord Grenville, that concession to Ireland was always the result, not of kindness, but of necessity. Such was the case, when in the midst of the American war, with 80,000 volunteers in arms, England was obliged to make an appeal to Ireland. Such was the case in 1792, when the elective franchise, first obstinately denied, was at length conceded, because a French war was impending. Such was the case, I am sorry to add, since the period when Lord Grenville spoke, when Catholic Emancipation was reluctantly granted. That concession arose out of no admission of the justice of the claim on the part of those who proposed it, but proceeded merely and avowedly from the fear of civil war. (Cheers). The point having been yielded in this manner, it cannot be expected that the minds of the people of Ireland should be so changed, as to be reconciled to their remaining disadvantages; ancient hatred, and former animosities still necessarily prevail, and it seems to have been too often thought by them, that what force once extorted, force could again compel. I now come to you, and ask you to legislate in a different and a liberal spirit. (Cheers). I come to ask you, although the Reformation and the revolution were periods of calamity and not of gratulation to Ireland, to make this era (when a Parliament has been assembled representing, I believe fairly, the opinions of the united people), celebrated in her annals for its justice and impartiality, inspiring her inhabitants with better hopes, and laying the foundation of a lasting settlement. (Much cheering). In considering the state of the church of Ireland, I am obliged to look back and consider a question that has been of late a good deal mooted, viz., the utility and object of a church establishment. I am one of those fully concurring in the defence set up last year by one of our prelates, that an establishment tends to promote religion, to maintain good order, and I farther agree with him as to the fact that it is agreeable to the sentiments of the majority of the people of this part of the empire. But as a friend of the

United Kingdom, I call upon you to consider whether with respect to the church of Ireland you can set up the same defence? Does it tend to promote religion, or to maintain good order? (Hear). On this part of the subject I will take the liberty of reading a passage from Archdeacon Paley, where he speaks of a church establishment: "The authority of a church establishment is founded in its utility; and whenever, upon this principle, we deliberate concerning the form, propriety, or comparative excellency of different establishments, the single view under which we ought to consider any of them is that of 'a scheme of instruction,' the single end we ought to propose by them is, 'the preservation and communication of religious knowledge.' Every other idea, and every other end, that have been mixed with this, as the making of the church an engine, or even an ally of the state: converting it into the means of strengthening or diffusing influence; or regarding it as a support of regal in opposition to popular forms of government, have served only to debase the institution, and to introduce into it numerous abuses and corruptions." I agree also with a right rev. Prelate who stated in one of his charges last year, that "the avowed object for which the church is established is the spiritual instruction of all classes of the people." He adds, elsewhere, that the whole controversy is reduced to this: "whether the religious instruction of a nation is not more effectually carried on by means of an endowed and an established church?" That is precisely the question I propose to apply to the state of Ireland, and I ask whether this great object has been advanced by the mode in which the church revenues are at present appropriated in Ireland; whether the religious instruction of the people has been promoted by the establishment of the Protestant church? I will first consider what are now the revenues of the Irish church as compared with its revenues in former times. Upon this point I beg to read a passage from a letter of Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake, after the death of the Archbishop of Tuam, dated March 29, 1716, where he says, "We have but about six hun-

dred beneficed clergymen in Ireland, and perhaps of these hardly two hundred have 100*l.* per annum; and for you to send your supernumeraries to be provided out of the least of these does look too like the rich man in Nathan's parable." At this period the total revenue was not more than 110,000*l.* Now, my hon. friend (Mr. Ward) in his speech of last year made a statement of the present revenues of the church of Ireland, which has not been disputed, and the exactness of which I believe there is no reason to doubt: "The total number of benefices is 1,456, of which 74 range from 800*l.* to 1,000*l.* a year; 75 from 1,000*l.* to 1,500*l.*; 17 from 1,500*l.* to 2,000*l.*; and 10 from 2,000*l.* to 2,800*l.*, which is the *maximum*. There are 407 livings, varying from 400*l.* to 800*l.* per annum; and 386 livings exceeding 200*l.*" I have before mentioned that the total revenue of the church of Ireland in 1716 was 110,000*l.*, being made up of the sums of 60,000*l.* for benefices, and about 50,000*l.* for lay impropriations. Now let us see what is its amount at present. I find it thus stated:

|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| Tithe Composition . . . . .                          | £534,433        |
| Episcopal revenues exclusive of<br>tithe . . . . .   | 141,896         |
| Dean and Chapters and Eco-<br>nomy Estates . . . . . | 5,399           |
| Minor Canons & Vicars Choral                         | 5,183           |
| Dignitaries, Prebendaries, and<br>Canons . . . . .   | 6,560           |
| Glebe lands . . . . . (at 15 <i>s.</i> )             | 68,250          |
| Perpetuity Purchase Fund . . .                       | 30,000          |
| <b>Total . . . . .</b>                               | <b>£791,721</b> |

These are the present revenues of the Church of Ireland, so that in the whole they amount to a little less than 800,000*l.* We therefore at once come to the question, whether this large sum has really been applied to the religious instruction of the people, or to whose benefit it has been applied?—whether, while during the last century there has been this enormous increase in the revenues of the church, there has been a corresponding increase in the number of conversions to the Protestant religion? (Cheering). Whether the activity and zeal of the

clergy have been such, and whether such has been their success, that the greater portion of the inhabitants of Ireland have become attached to the Protestant church, and whether this beneficial change has been owing to the instructions of its ministers? I am sorry to say that the result has been too much the reverse. I am afraid that in the last century, although it is not so now, it was considered rather an advantage that there were but two Protestant clergymen residing on their benefices: as they had no glebe-houses and no churches, they had a very fair plea for neglecting their spiritual duties. It is mentioned by more than one traveller that such was the ordinary case, and even at a late date many of the clergy considered themselves rather part of a large political body than as persons appointed for the spiritual instruction of the people. (Cheers.) It has been stated to me by a reverend gentleman who has addressed me, and who once held a benefice in Ireland, that when first he went there he considered the character of the clergy of that church very different from the character of the clergy of the church of England. They had many very small flocks; they had difficulty in collecting their tithes; their attention was therefore too much absorbed by the means of collecting their tithes, and they did not partake of the character which does so much honour to the clergy of the Church of England. This is the statement of a highly respected gentleman, who held a benefice in Ireland for many years, and afterwards gave it up and returned to this country; and he adds an instance of a clergyman who thought himself aggrieved in being deprived of his benefice, because he would persist in holding a commission in a yeomanry corps. All the information that we have, and it is abundant, tends to show that such was the actual condition. By Tighe's History of Kilkenny, it appears that the number of Protestant families in 1731 was 1,055, but in 1800 they had been reduced to 941. The total number of Protestants at the former period was 5,238, while the population of the county, which in 1800 was 108,000, in 1731 was only 42,108 souls. From



Stewart's History of Armagh, we find that sixty years ago the Protestants in that county were as two to one; now they are as one to three. In 1733, the Roman Catholics in Kerry were twelve to one Protestant, and now the former are much more numerous than even that proportion. In Tullamore, in 1731, there were 64 Protestants to 613 Roman Catholics; but according to Mason's Parochial Survey, in 1818, the Protestants had diminished to only five, while the Roman Catholics had augmented to 2,455. On the whole, from the best computation I have seen, and I believe

it is not exaggerated one way or the other, the entire number of Protestants belonging to the established church in Ireland can hardly be stated higher than 750,000; and of those 400,000 are resident in the ecclesiastical province of Armagh. Without going into particulars, for which indeed I do not pretend to be prepared, it may be said that in Armagh the numbers are seven or eight to one, and in other parts of Ireland the disproportion is larger. I have, however, an account relating to different dioceses, which I believe to be very accurate, and which I will state to the House.

| Diocese.        | Members of the Established Church. | Roman Catholics. | Presbyterians. | Other Protestant Dissenters. | Total.    |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| Ardfert .....   | 7,529                              | 297,131          | ....           | 27                           | 304,687   |
| Down .....      | 30,583                             | 61,465           | 101,627        | 3,557                        | 197,232   |
| Dromore .....   | 35,677                             | 58,516           | 59,385         | 831                          | 154,409   |
| Kildare .....   | 13,986                             | 122,577          | 9              | 384                          | 136,956   |
| Kilfenora ..... | 235                                | 34,606           | 4              | ..                           | 34,845    |
| Killaloe .....  | 19,149                             | 359,585          | 16             | 326                          | 379,076   |
| Leighlin .....  | 20,404                             | 170,083          | 198            | 281                          | 190,966   |
| Lismore .....   | 8,002                              | 207,688          | 164            | 382                          | 216,236   |
| Meath .....     | 25,626                             | 377,430          | 671            | 199                          | 403,926   |
| Waterford ....  | 5,301                              | 43,371           | 110            | 443                          | 49,225    |
|                 | 166,492                            | 1,732,452        | 162,184        | 6,430                        | 2,067,558 |

Thus, sir, it will be seen, that while in some parts of Ireland the members of the established church form a considerable portion of the population, and it is therefore held that they require a considerable number of clergymen, in other parts they form but a small proportion; so small that it cannot be necessary or right that there should be so large an establishment as is in those parts maintained. (Cheers). Having shown that these are the general results with respect to the proportions of the population,—and every one knows

that by no computation can the members of the established church be made to form more than one-ninth of the whole population,—I may venture, with the less fear, to give some particular instances of the proportion which the members of the Church of England bear to the amount of money drawn from tithes, as applied to the spiritual instruction of the people. The instances which I will state to the House are taken at random from are turn furnished by my right hon. Friend. They are as follows :—

| Parishes.           | Value.          | Established Church. | Roman Catholic. |
|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Taghmon .....       | £644 Glebe £50. | 133                 | 2920            |
| Ballycormack .....  | 95              | 10                  | 501             |
| Ballynilty .....    | 82              | 21                  | 390             |
| Dunleer .....       | 153 G. 6        | 159                 | 1460            |
| Drumcar .....       | 53              | 120                 | 1528            |
| Monachebone .....   | 107             | 9                   | 737             |
| Moyleary .....      | 173 G. 30       | 13                  | 1148            |
| Cuppog .....        | 120             | 1                   | 530             |
| Rathdrummin .....   | 82 G. 20        | 7                   | 662             |
| Carrickbogget ..... | 57              | ..                  | 332             |
| Port .....          | 142 G. 5        | 5                   | 800             |
| Ullard .....        | 280 G. 45       | 50                  | 2213            |
| Graig .....         | 440             | 63                  | 4779            |
| Ossory .....        | 62              | 4                   | 107             |
| Balsoon .....       | 69              | 7                   | 312             |

This, sir, will be sufficient for my present purpose. I believe that similar instances, without end, might be produced from the knowledge, and I may say, the personal acquaintance, of persons residing in Ireland. (Hear, hear). Their tendency is to show that there is a very large mass of the 800,000*l.* raised for the spiritual instruction of a small class of the people, while all the rest of the people derive no benefit whatever from that expenditure. (Hear). I believe that more care and more attention have been given of late years (hear), particularly during the last seven years, to the spiritual cure of members of the church of England, than have been afforded at a former period. I believe that, in this respect, the church of Ireland now stands high, and that there are clergymen belonging to that church, who exert themselves to the utmost to afford spiritual instruction to the people. But we must not fall into the error of supposing that it is only necessary to build churches and glebe-houses, in order to convert men to the religion which ourselves profess. There were times, perhaps, I know not whether it was so or not, when, by kindness and care, the English church might have obtained a much more extensive footing in Ireland than it possesses now; but it is evident that, as re-

gards a people so much attached to their own faith as the Roman Catholics are, you cannot hope, by merely placing a clergyman in a glebe-house, and advising him to preach every Sunday; you cannot hope that, by such means, any real advances will be made in their conversion. Every thing contradicts such a supposition. (Hear). And, if it were not contradicted merely by the present state of the facts, I am sorry to say, that what has occurred of late years would tend to diminish very much any such hopes that might have been entertained. It was thought fit, some years ago, to call together public meetings in Ireland, and to endeavour by controversy and dispute to bring over members of the Catholic church to the Protestant church. Now, sir I must say, that those who took this course acted in defiance of all history and all experience. (Hear, hear, hear) I can well conceive, that in the case of a rich church established in a country in which it was enjoying large benefits without attending properly to the cure of souls, individuals, even though themselves were in error, might hope, by pointing out the corruptions and defects of such a church, to obtain many converts; but that persons belonging to a church like the church of England, that they, belonging to a church



so large, and maintained by tithes paid by the people generally who dissent from it, that they should attempt a sort of crusade against the voluntary leaders of men who support their own church, and hope to gain the supremacy in the controversy, does show, I think, greater zeal and rashness than prudence or wisdom. (Cheers). What, sir, was the consequence? It might have happened that things might have gone on in their usual course; but this controversy being commenced, the Catholic clergy considered themselves attacked, and raised a spirit of resistance to the legal payment of that clergy to whom they were, religiously and theologically opposed. I am far from thinking that that resistance was justified; still less do I think that encouragement ought to have been given to it. But I feel it to be my duty to place before you the facts, to acquaint you with the state of things which naturally resulted from what was attempted, in order that you may see that the effect was to throw an additional obstacle in the way of the success of the church of England in its endeavours to win over a large class of the Roman Catholics to its spiritual doctrines. In the parish of Grape a system of violence was commenced, and it was said that the Roman Catholic priests advised the people not to pay tithes. If they did so, all parties must blame them. A Protestant clergyman, on the other hand, seized a horse from a tithe-payer, and equal blame must be given to him for taking that course. (Hear, hear). I do think it most lamentable, that instead of the clergy of the different persuasions recommending mild pursuits, they should have been the originators of a dispute and contest; it is surely most lamentable, I say, that such differences should have been commenced by those who ought to be the ministers of peace. Unfortunately there has prevailed throughout Ireland, for several years, a spirit of resistance to the payment of tithes, so inveterate that no exertions of the clergy, and no efforts of the Government have succeeded in enforcing their collection. The extent of the evil is admitted by all parties. The laws passed during the late administration having proved ineffectual, the right

honourable Gentleman opposite, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the other night came down to the House, and, in his introduction of a measure relating to this subject, earnestly deprecated the use of military force for the collection of tithes. What, then, is the state of the church of Ireland? (Hear, hear). You, in the first place, are unable to diffuse its spiritual and religious doctrines amongst the great mass of the people; and you have, in the second place, by your system of tithes, been constantly brought into collision with them. (Hear, hear). You have been constantly producing a state of things which, while it has led to the disturbance of this country, was irreconcilable with those spiritual objects for which the Bishop of London had said a church establishment alone ought to exist. Allow me, sir, to call the attention of the House to the principle which the great authority I have quoted lays down. That authority states that church establishment should be considered as the means of moral and spiritual instruction, and nothing else; their great objects are to be essentially useful. Bearing in mind what has occurred at Craig and Rathcor-mac, I would ask whether the great and permanent objects of a church establishment can ever be secured by your determining that funds shall be demanded for the purpose of enforcing the doctrines of the church of England, and for no other purpose whatever? (Hear, hear). Well, then, what do I propose to do in this case? I propose that there should be instituted such a reform in the Church of Ireland as would enable us to adapt the establishment to the spiritual instruction of those who belong to the church, and that there should be no unnecessary addition. (Cheers). If you adopt this principle, you cannot do otherwise than greatly reduce the Church of Ireland. (Cheers). I propose, therefore, that you should undertake this object, and that you should apply what shall appear to be the surplus in some way by which the moral and religious improvement of the people of Ireland may be advanced, by which their interests may be considered, and by which they may hereafter believe that the funds which are

raised nominally for their benefit are used for their benefit in reality. It is with this view, then, that I mean to propose this resolution to the House, of which I have given notice. The resolution is as follows: "That this House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland." The House having resolved itself into a committee, I shall move, "That it is the opinion of this committee that any surplus which may remain after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the established church in Ireland, ought to be applied locally to the general education of all classes of Christians." In proposing this course I feel that I am not doing more than the case requires. A similar course was taken in 1828, with respect to the Catholic claims, on the proposition of my honourable friend the Member for Westminster. I beg leave to explain the view I take, because I shall answer the honourable gentleman opposite who asked me in what manner I intended to proceed. The motion to which I have alluded, that the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the state of the Roman Catholics, was carried by a majority of six. The committee then did resolve that it was expedient to consider the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, with a view to their final adjustment. It was then moved that the resolution be sent to the Lords, in order that their concurrence might be asked. The Commons and the Lords held a conference on the subject, after which the latter fixed a day for the debate, the result being, that the motion for their concurrence to the resolution that had been adopted by the House of Commons was lost. I now propose this House shall resolve to go into committee; and having gone into committee, I shall propose a resolution which will embody the spirit and substance of my present motion. On that resolution being reported, I shall move an Address to the Crown. I shall move that the resolution be presented to the Crown, with a humble entreaty to his Majesty, that his Majesty would be most graciously pleased to enable the House to carry it into effect.

(Cheering). I think that this is the course which we took on the question of the Church Temporalities' Act. After that bill had been read a first time, the question was raised whether we could dispose of the ecclesiastical patronage of the Crown without the special approval of his Majesty; and it was decided, sir, by your predecessor, that the question having been brought under the consideration of the House by the King's Speech, the bill might be read a second time, but that afterwards it would be proper that a special message should be received. I call the attention of the House to that question, because I think the manner of proceeding which I recommend is the best, not only in point of form, but because I do also think that the only manner in which a satisfactory measure can be proposed to the House, is by the concurrence of the Crown. In proposing this, I know not whether the right hon. Gentleman opposite (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) will think it proper to follow what he did in 1829. After that resolution had been carried by a majority of six, the right hon. Gentleman went down to the King, and informed his Majesty that the House of Commons had decided by a majority in favour of the Roman Catholic claims, and that the state of Ireland being such as to induce well-founded alarm, it was his duty to change his course, and to propose a measure of relief. Whether the right hon. Gentleman opposite will follow that precedent or not, I know not; but I do think that it is as competent to him to adopt such a course on the present occasion as it was for him to adopt the course he took on the Roman Catholic question. (Hear). The right hon. Gentleman has, I know, stated his opinion on the subject, and that is an opinion which is against this proposition; but he has spoken in no more decided terms against it than he did with respect to the Roman Catholic question—a measure which he afterwards introduced. (Hear). The right hon. Baronet, in his address to his constituents, which he professed to be a declaration of the principles on which he intended to act, stated, with respect to Church Reform:—"That, as to the great question of Church Re-



form, on that head I have no new professions to make. I cannot give my consent to the alienation of church property, in any part of the United Kingdom, from strictly ecclesiastical purposes. (Cheers). But I repeat now the opinion that I have already expressed in Parliament, in regard to the church establishment in Ireland, that if by an improved distribution of the revenues of the church its just influence can be extended, and the true interest of the established religion promoted, all other considerations should be made subordinate to the advancement of objects of such paramount importance." The right hon. Gentleman stated his opinion in this very emphatic manner very soon after he took office. When subsequently the right hon. Gentleman was asked a question in this House, as to what he proposed to do in regard to measures resulting from the commission now making inquiries in Ireland, he answered, that he was not averse to any new distribution of the revenues of the church, which would promote the interest and extend the influence of the church; but any measure to which he consented must be confined in its object to the promotion of the doctrines of the church. In some observations upon the Tithe Bill lately brought before the House, in which the question of the appropriation of church revenues was involved, the right hon. Baronet said that he would consent to their application to their present purposes, spiritual and ecclesiastical, viz. those purposes, for which the church of England at present exists. (Hear). Now I do say, sir, that the right hon. Bart. having stated his opinions thus broadly on this question, it is quite clear, that whatever may be the result of the inquiries which the commission is yet to pursue, it is necessary that the House of Commons should come to some decision on that point (cheers), and either adopt or reject the principles adopted by the right hon. Baronet. (Cheers). If the House be determined to confine the revenues of the church to purposes strictly ecclesiastical, it is better for that determination to be declared: but if the House is not of that opinion, it is certainly of no use for us to be passing through the

different stages of the bill for the commutation of tithes. We ought, in my opinion, to proceed with that bill while this great question is unsettled—while it is yet unknown whether the Ministers and the House of Commons agree as to the question, or are at variance upon it. (Cheers). I think, sir, that this consideration is a full justification of the course I take in proposing this resolution to the House. (Cheers). It is quite clear that the late Ministry, or any similar Ministry, on the report of the church commissioners becoming known, would have been disposed to act on the spirit of that report, and, if necessary, would have proposed to reduce the church establishment in Ireland. (Cheers). But the right hon. Baronet tells us at once, immediately on his resuming office, again on appearing in this House, and also in proposing the Tithe Bill—three separate times he tells us—that the commission may go on prosecuting its inquiries, but he should care for its report no otherwise than as it would enable him to effect a better distribution of church property among the members of the church; and whatever the nature of the report, whatever the surplus, however extensive the reduction which the Protestant church might bear consistently with the preservation of its stability, and the extension of its really beneficial influence, he has made up his mind already not to consent to forego the principle of maintaining the property of the church to its present purposes. That being the case, it is quite necessary, as it appears to me, to come to some distinct resolution on the question. It is for the advantage of every one, for the advantage of this country, for the advantage of Ireland, and, indeed, for the general advantage of the empire (hear, hear), that there should be on this great and vital question an administration in harmony with the House of Commons, acting according to its sense. (Loud cheers). And if the right hon. Gentleman has the confidence of the House, or if, his opinions and the opinions of those acting with him being adverse, he is prepared to take the course he took on a former occasion; in either case, it is far better that at once we

should come to some decision, and not be voting supplies, and not going on night after night, week after week, without knowing whether the Ministers of the crown do enjoy the confidence of the House on this great question, or do not. (Cheers). Well, then, sir, I think that what I have said will be considered a sufficient answer to any argument that may be drawn from the fact of the Report of the Commission not being yet on the table of the House. The hon. Gentlemen opposite may say that it is inconsistent thus to bring forward a motion on this subject without the report being before us, and they are quite welcome if they please to throw those taunts upon us; but I think it sufficient to state in reply that the state of the question has been entertained, that it is a question no longer open: on the contrary, it is one on which a decided opinion has been formed by the hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House (cheers); and that decided opinion having been pronounced, it is quite necessary that we should ask whether or no the principle which we propose; whether the appropriation of the revenue of the church of Ireland, or any part of it, to uses by which the people of Ireland generally can be benefitted, will secure the sanction of the House. I come now to the question with respect to the purposes to which I would apply the surplus. (Hear, hear). The other night an hon. Gentleman asked me whether I proposed that any part of the money should go for the purpose of affording religious education to the Roman Catholics on the principle of the Roman Catholic religion. My answer is this, that I propose to adopt the principle acted on by the National Board of Education for Ireland. The measure constituting that Board, was proposed by my noble Friend the Member for Lancashire; and, according to that measure, members of all creeds, children of all persuasions, can receive religious and moral instruction, and are brought up in harmony. I have considered that, in the present state of Ireland, no measure would tend so much to its future peace, as the expending of large funds for the purpose of promoting education. From the earliest times, it will be found that the Protestants have been desirous of improving the condition of the people of Ireland by means of education. It was the object of the 12th Elizabeth, chap. 1. The preamble of that Act states, that much good is expected to result from the establishment of a good system of education in Ireland. But after times, and in times much later, there have been those who considered that it was of the utmost importance that instruction should be given to the people of Ireland in such a manner as would not interfere with their religious faith. (Hear). In support of this statement, I beg the attention of the House while I read to them the copy of a letter from the Lord Bishop of Clonfert to the Rev. Mr. Moore, of Boughton-Blean, near Canterbury:—"Though I had not the pleasure of receiving your very informing discourse on Sunday schools at the time you intended, I have since got it, and read it with the greatest satisfaction. It is an admirable defence and recommendation of this new institution, which I hope will daily become more general, and produce the best moral effects, by impressing the children of the poor with a sense of duty and religion, at the only time and age when they are capable of impressions. A poor man's creed need not be long, but it should be struck in early, and a true and right one. If he believes, as the common proverb says, that he is to die like a dog, he will undoubtedly live like one. The communication of education is certainly a very great blessing to the poor; and had Mandeville, and they who, to serve political purposes, are for denying all instruction to the lower classes, only pushed their argument far enough, they might have proved, that they had a right to maim or put out the eyes of the common people, in order to make them more manageable and more in the power of their superiors. Having never seen the paragraph in the English papers concerning me to which you allude in your appendix, I can say nothing to it; but what I have endeavoured to do in my diocese, ever since my appointment, is this: there are twenty Catholics to one Protestant in it. To attempt their conversion, or to think of making them read Protestant



books, would be in vain; I have, therefore, circulated amongst them some of the best of their own authors, particularly one Gother, whose writings contain much pure Christianity, useful knowledge, and benevolent sentiments. He wrote eighteen volumes of religious extracts, and died about the year 1696. Unable to make the peasants about me good Protestants, I wish to make them good Catholics, good citizens, and good anything. I have established, too, a Sunday school, open to both Protestants and Catholics, at my residence in the country have recommended the scheme to my clergy, and hope to have several on foot in the summer. Pastoral works, however, of this nature, go on very heavily in a kingdom so unsettled, and so intoxicated with politics as this is. I return you my best thanks for your obliging present." I cannot conceive, sir, that funds intended for the religious instruction of the people can be misapplied when devoted to objects likely to make them good subjects of the state, and religious and moral. Objects of a similar kind were in view, when, in 1806, a commission was appointed, which consisted of the Archbishop of Armagh, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Edgeworth. After several years spent in inquiry, they agreed to a report, in which they carefully laid down the principle that any new system of education ought to be such as would not interfere with the religious tenets of any particular party. In an appendix to the report there is a letter from Mr. Grattan, who, in speaking of the sort of schools that should be formed, says that they ought to be founded on more extensive and comprehensive principles. The board for promoting Irish education was composed of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Duke of Leinster and others. I am sure that all must have heard that the schools of the kind established by the recommendation of that board have been conducted with the utmost harmony, and attended with the most beneficial effects, moral and religious instruction has been conveyed generally to the people, without reference to one particular and exclusive creed. I come now to meet one or two objections which have been urged, but which I do not think well founded.

The first is the assertion of that principle, that the property of the church ought not to be directed from the uses of the church to which it belongs. With respect to that principle, I am not so far disposed as to go at large into the general question as to church property being considered private or not. I am disposed to consider that question as Burke was disposed to consider it, as expressed in his speech on the right of taxation over a colony, made on the motion for the conciliation of America. I think and believe that if I were to enter fully into that question, I should run the risk of having the question immediately before the House altogether lost and sunk. (Laughter). I will read the passage of Burke I have alluded to. "From the earliest considerations of religion and constitutional policy, from their opinion of a duty to make a sure provision for the consolation of the feeble and the instruction of the ignorant, they have incorporated and identified the estate of the church with the mass of private property of which the state is not the proprietor, either for use or dominion, but the guardian only and the regulator." I will submit, with all respect, that the discussion of the general question would lead to inconvenience in this particular case. The hon. Gentlemen opposite do not hold that opinion, or that the interference with the revenue of bishops is an appropriation of the revenue of the church; such is not their doctrine. They hold that they may distribute church property in taking from the bishop and giving to the curate. Is there in this interference and appropriation any resemblance to an interference with private property? There are one or two hundred cases of the distribution of large church incomes among smaller ones. Now if the property were private, and that only, they could not act in that way. If they were satisfied with it being private property, on what principle could they make a distribution, on what principle could they diminish the number of bishops? By an act of the Parliament they had interfered with the bishops. The number of bishops has been considered too great; they have been diminished; their funds have been con-

sidered too great; they have distributed them to deans and chapters; if the deans and chapters have possessed enough, then to rectors and others. If they determined that there were too many bishops, or that there were too unequal revenues, how is it possible to say, "We will diminish the numbers, we will distribute the revenues," and not carry out the principle and regulate the property in a most useful manner to the country? Upon what principle did they interfere with church property? No other than this, that it is useful for religion, and the distribution is useful for the people. They came then to the principle, that what regulates church property is totally different and distinct from that which regulates private property; and I say again, that if it be right on grounds of public expediency, public right, and public advantage, then I say on those grounds of expediency, right, and advantage, apply the property to works of religion, of education, and of charity; what distribution can be more sacred? (Loud cheers). If you stand on the question of private property, that ecclesiastical property shall not be disposed of otherwise than as originally distributed, that I can understand; but the hon. Gentlemen on the other side admit the right of Parliament to interfere; yet they say that such interference shall only be to distribute the church property for Protestant purposes. This is mixing the proposition, and I may almost call it an absurdity. In the former discussion on this question, the hon. Member for Oxford (Sir Robert Inglis) said, that Parliament had no right to interfere with church property. I do maintain that it can. I will not enter into the great theoretical question, but I will stand on the intelligible principle of the right of interfering so far in regard to church property as may be for the advantage of the State. We are told that the revenues of the church are applied usefully; now, how are they applied? The number of Catholics in Ireland, compared to Protestants, is about 15 to 1. Is it claimed that the property of the church is only to be used for the benefit of the rich, who are Protestants? Has no one but a free-

holder a right to the consolations of religion? An establishment is meant for all classes of the community, for the consolation and education of the poor, and we are to look to it as it may affect the poor. Of the persons affected by the church establishment of Ireland, the great majority are Catholics; day by day money is collected from them; and, in many instances, in sums as low as 6d. and 4d. All these persons are paying for the support of a religion from which they derive no benefit, though it is said that these persons ought not to object to their proportion, as the payments fall ultimately on the land, and that on these grounds they are not affected. The motion I now make is, what will, in my opinion, put an end to the ill-feeling that subsists; and I think, until it is adopted, though you may pass the Tithe Bill as now drawn up, you will not obtain peace in Ireland; and in adopting what I now propose, you will act in such a way as will secure ultimately the harmony and the advantage of Ireland. I believe the people of that country are warmly attached to this, and their disposition is kind and humane. While acts of violence take place in reference to the public dissensions of that country, no traveller who has been there will deny that he has been well received by the poorest and meanest of the inhabitants, who exercise the most unbounded hospitality, and are not only hospitable in disposition, but open their doors to all who approach them. To those who have not lived in that country it would be quite singular to know how great their gratitude is for any kindness shown: they are indeed overflowing with gratitude to all who show them the least kindness. When such is their feeling and conduct to individuals, there is now an opportunity, by adopting this motion, of directing that gratitude to the Imperial Parliament. You have now the power of acting free from any compulsion, not having before you the fear of any foreign war, without any civil commotion; you have the power to begin at length to effect a settlement of this great question, which once accomplished, the question of the repeal of the union will cease to operate, or disturb the public mind; and a nation



so eminent in men panting to be loyal will give full tribute for the benefit bestowed, and will acknowledge that at last justice has been done to Ireland; and your satisfaction will be great in having granted that justice. By this, more than by any means, you will confirm our strength, render us unconquerable by our enemies, and make us an example of religious liberty. (Long-continued cheering).

The motion was then put.

SIR E. KNATCHBULL commenced with remarking upon the importance of the question, and he hoped they would give him that attention which he never withheld from others when they addressed the House on questions of an important nature. He would at once come to the question, which had been put before the House by the noble Lord, and state his reasons why he could not accede to it. He might have complained that until he entered the House that evening he had not been made acquainted with the precise nature of the measure of the noble Lord. The noble Lord had certainly given some general expression of his intention; but he had said he would not be bound by his word (cheers from the Ministerial side); but he (Sir E. K.) thought the noble Lord would find, and that every public man would find, that it was important public men should be bound by their word (cheers from the Ministerial benches, and louder cheering from the opposition); and that they should be guided by public opinion. He needed not to have been ashamed of declaring what were his intentions. In opposing the resolution of the noble Lord he might move a counter resolution, or he might adopt another course by moving the previous question; but he would not adopt either of these courses; he would oppose the resolution on its own merits, and he was sure it would meet with real opposition, not only within the walls of the House, but from one end of the country to the other. He would at once boldly express his opinion to be to negative the motion of the noble Lord. He would ask the noble Lord and the honourable House what was the real tenour of the measure? Was it to have

for its end the safe settlement of the question of the Irish Church; or was it not rather for the purpose of trying the relative strength of the parties in that House? (Loud cheers from both sides of the House). It might have been doubted at the early part of the noble Lord's speech that this was his motive, but the expressions he used in the latter part of his speech left no doubt as to his object. He had selected extracts from opinions expressed by others, and in particular had cited what had been said by the right hon. Baronet in an address to his constituents, and contrasted these with the measure he had proposed. Now, what was the course which the noble Lord meant to pursue if he succeeded in carrying forward his resolution? If he succeeded in carrying his resolution, he meant to frame upon it an address by which he would tell to the Crown that the opinion of that House was diametrically opposed to the opinion of the right hon. Baronet on this question. This, perhaps, might be the easiest course; but it would have been far more manly to have come forward at once and declared that the House had no confidence in the present Government. (Loud cheering). With regard to the proposition itself, notwithstanding all that had been said on the subject, he (Sir E. Knatchbull) was not prepared to apply Protestant Church property to any other than the Protestant Church clergy. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches). The noble Lord might talk as long as he pleased, and might give it what complexion he pleased, but it amounted to neither more nor less than this, namely, a desire to take from the Protestant Church their property, and to give it to the Catholics and all other sects. The noble Lord had, in alluding to the sentiments expressed by the right hon. Baronet on the subject of equalizing the incomes of bishops, contended that he had admitted the principle of legislative interference with the church revenue; but the noble Lord had mistaken the position entirely; in this there was no violation of principle. To take from one bishop in the church, and to give to another bishop, was not taking it away from one church and giving it to another church; on this rested the whole question

—that they were to take from the Protestant Church of Ireland their property, and give it to other churches. He regretted that the noble Lord should have taken the present time for introducing his measure, and he deeply regretted that the noble Lord should have selected a religious question to try the strength of parties. He must repeat his regret that such a question should have been introduced for any such purpose, a question of so vast importance, which ought to have been discussed with the most perfect deliberation, and totally divested of party feeling in any degree. With regard to the situation in which he (Sir E. Knatchbull) stood as to the question, he found himself very much in the same situation as the noble Lord had been when the honourable Member for St. Albans and the honourable and learned Member for Dublin had moved resolutions on the same subject. The course which the noble Lord then pursued was to oppose the motions, and now he had so far changed in his opinion that he had introduced a motion very similar himself. The noble Lord on these occasions had stated there were two courses which they might pursue, they might pass a resolution confining themselves to a general opinion, but he disapproved of the House applying a general resolution to an abstract principle. The other course they might pursue was, that they could appoint a commission, and act upon the report of that commission. Now he would ask the noble Lord if he was right in his information in the statements he had made? He would ask him where he had obtained his information? because he could assure the House the Government were not in possession of that information. (Loud cheers). He would ask if the commissioners of the Irish church had made their report to the noble Lord? (Cheers). His Lordship, on these occasions, had stated that he considered the first course of passing a resolution as being very bad (cheers); and he had said that he had had sufficient experience in Parliament to show him that it was a very improper mode of proceeding. The honourable Baronet alluded to other authorities on the same subject, and expressed his asto-

nishment that the noble Lord should have thus declared his opinion when in office upon this principle, and now to come forward and propose the present resolution. He must once more repeat what he had stated in his outset, that he deeply regretted this question had ever been brought forward. He knew the course that the Government would pursue—they would do their duty to the Crown and to the House. They had had sufficient evidence of what were the feelings of the noble Lord. The noble Lord was desirous for the formation of a new Government. (Cheers and laughter). But he would ask the House and the noble Lord if they were prepared to meet the change? He would ask the noble Lord where he could look for support? If he meant to trust for support to the members of the sister kingdom, he would find himself disappointed. The noble Lord had alluded to the repeal of the Union; he had spoken of it only in general terms: but he had said that, unless justice was done to Ireland, there was danger to be apprehended from it. And this was what he called justice to Ireland. He saw the coalition that had taken place between that party and the Whig party, or rather a section of the Whig party, and he deeply regretted to see the closeness of that union. (Cheers and laughter). He made some allusion to the peculiar mode in which the hon. Member for Dublin discharged his public duties, and repeated his expression of astonishment that the noble Lord should act with him, and which he designated as a most extraordinary coalition. He alluded to the hon. Member for Dublin, who, when he wanted relief for the people of Ireland, had called upon them to strike off one per cent. from the national debt. (Hear, hear). Yet this was the party with whom the noble Lord had associated himself. (Cheers). He would ask them was the Bank of this opinion? He would ask them if there was any special objection to any one member of the Government, to his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or any one else, that had been stated? Take as a criterion the measures they had brought forward—there had been no objection to



them. The Irish Tithe Bill (hear, hear); and which he would contend was infinitely a better measure than had ever been proposed by the noble Lord and his friends. (Laughter). Take the Dissenters' Marriage Bill—there had been no objection to that. But his right hon. Friend was taunted with bringing in measures that had been concocted by others. The difference, however, was, that as he introduced them they were perfected; as they were before they had been found impracticable. He was sure that every member of the Government was as desirous as the noble Lord, or any one else, to remove every blemish in the church, whether they might be in office or out of office. Did the noble lord suppose that he (Sir E. K.), or those who acted with him, were less sensible than he was to the misery of the people, or that they did not hear with sorrow of their calamities—or would not be as willing as he would be to remove the cause of their suffering? They ought to remove, in the first place, that system of agitation which existed, before they could proceed with benefit to administer to the country. He would give his most unqualified opposition to the motion, because he conceived that the appropriation of the Protestant church property to any other than the Protestant church must lead to the separation of Church and State, and the church would be subjected to desecration. The noble lord seemed to have forgotten that there were Protestants as well as Catholics, and it was for the House to do justice. (The right hon. baronet sat down amidst loud cheers from the Treasury benches.)

## DEEDS OF THE WHIGS,

AND

### PARALLEL OF THE TWO FACTIONS.

Nov. 22, 1830. Lord Grey, alluding to the riots amongst the labourers in the South and West of England, said, "It is only within the last three hours that we have been installed in our respective offices as members of his Majesty's

Government. I here declare for myself, and also for my colleagues, that it is my determined resolution, wherever outrages are perpetrated, or excesses committed, to suppress them with SEVERITY AND VIGOUR." On the very same day that Lord Grey made this declaration, there was a proclamation issued, in the name of the King, offering a reward of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS to any person causing another to be convicted of any act of violence, and of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS for causing any one to be convicted of setting fire to property. The Dorsetshire magistrates had just agreed to the allowance of TWO SHILLINGS AND SEVEN-PENCE A WEEK for a man to work on and to live on, when Lord Grey made the declaration above-named, and when the King's proclamation above alluded to was issued, containing such an enormous inducement to perjury for any one of the poor labourers, as would give him for the committing one act of false swearing, so large a sum of money that the interest alone of it would be nearly four times as much as he could get for labouring work, according to the scale of allowance agreed to by the Dorsetshire magistrates.

Dec. 4, 1830. A special commission was appointed to try the agricultural labourers who had been taken up for rioting, of whom, in Hampshire alone, there were:

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Transported, mostly for life .....  | 135 |
| Hanged, one of them for rioting, and the other for striking Bingham Baring, without doing him any harm! ..... | 2   |
| Wives bereft of their husbands....  | 73  |
| Children bereft of their fathers....  | 243 |
| Parents to bewail the loss of their sons .....  | 210 |
| Total..   | 663 |

Being more than two to each parish in the whole county: and these men were thus prosecuted and thus punished, although it was given in evidence on the trials, that the labouring men went to work with nothing but potatoes in their bags, and that the people who were compelled to go to the parish for relief, were set to draw

*carls like cattle*, and that OLD MEN and WOMEN were thus compelled to work; and in one case a WOMAN WHO WAS AN IDIOT!

Dec. 6, 1830. The Whigs voted TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS for the repairs of Windsor Castle. The original estimate was 150,000*l.*, and sums of money had been voted from time to time, to the amount of NINE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS, to which the Whigs added the above 25,000*l.*

Dec. 16, 1830. Lord Althorp announced to the House of Commons, in answer to a question put to him, that SIX THOUSAND men were added to the army; but his Lordship said that it was done in the *cheapest possible manner*! At this time there were more than SIXTEEN THOUSAND MILITARY OFFICERS IN PAY.

Feb. 4, 1831. Lord Grey said, on taking office, "*We will cut off, with an unsparing hand, all that is not demanded for the INTERESTS, THE HONOUR, and THE WELFARE OF THE COUNTRY.*" But Lord Althorp said, this day, in the House of Commons, "*I doubt if we have any equitable right to abolish any of the pensions on the civil list*"; although he well knew that Mrs. Arbuthnot's name was put on that list by the DUKE OF WELLINGTON, on the day that he went out of office, to the tune of nearly 1,000*l.* a year, and ANTEDATED TEN YEARS; so that, the moment her name was written on the list, the nation was her debtor nearly TEN THOUSAND POUNDS; and that for services known to no person in the kingdom, except, perhaps, the Duke himself, who might have been able, himself, to pay for her services out of his own purse, instead of out of that of the nation, seeing that he is in the enjoyment of more than 40,000*l.* per annum, granted to him by the Government for an "*accidental victory*," for which we are told that we cannot be "*sufficiently grateful*"!!

May 23, 1831. The Whigs made Wellington Lord Lieutenant of Hampshire, and a judge, to sit on the bench, in that "*special commission*" that was appointed to try persons charged with rioting in the agricultural districts.

1831. They voted an additional 12,000*l.* a year to the Duchess of Kent; 100,000*l.* a year, as a dower for the Queen; 14,000*l.* for the expense of the British Museum; 100,000*l.* to half-pay officers at Hanover, and other parts abroad; and 50,000*l.* for the expenses of the coronation of William IV.; amounting in the whole to more than the whole of the poor-rates for the *nine counties* of Bedford, Berkshire, Cumberland, Huntingdon, Hereford, Monmouth, Northumberland, Rutland, and Westmoreland!

Nov. 21, 1831. The Whigs caused to be issued a royal proclamation against political unions, although they had accepted addresses from such unions, and had written gracious answers to those very political unions; and had, as was proved by Mr. Maurice O'Connell, even given "*OFFICE FRANKS*" to Mr. "*Pisaller*" Parkes, by which papers of a pound weight may be sent by the post, in order that he might, by that means, circulate papers to rouse the political unions in favour of Lord Grey and the Whigs!

The Whigs caused prosecutions of the press under one of the "*Six Acts*," which acts they so furiously railed against when out of office. These prosecutions were carried on with such "*VIGOUR*" that, in seven months, in London alone, there were 336 individuals prosecuted and imprisoned for selling *cheap publications*, whilst the Lord Chancellor Brougham was sending the cheap publications of a society to which he belonged, all over the country, by means of "*office franks*"; and whilst we were, by this same Government, stunned with the cry of "*education*" and "*cheap knowledge*"!!

1831. The Whig "*Reform*" Government allowed a statue of Canning to be erected on a piece of land belonging to the public; of that Canning who had always been the *most strenuous opponent of reform*, both when in and when out of place: of that Canning who, in the House of Commons, made a cruel jest of the sufferings of the "*REVERED AND RUPTURED OGDEN*," whose sufferings were caused by the brutal treatment that he received at the hands of the Government of which Canning was a member: of that Canning who, in May,



1827, a few days after he had become *Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer*, on being asked what he would do with the question of parliamentary reform, said, "*I will oppose parliamentary reform, in whatever shape it may appear, to the last hour of my life.*" And at that very moment he had BURDETT, BROUGHAM ("*avocat et homme de lettres*"), LORD JOHN RUSSELL, and other "*reformers*," sitting at his back; all of whom had the incomparable meanness to remain on the ministerial benches without saying a word in favour of reform; and, indeed, those three above-named *worthies*, called Canning their RIGHT HONOURABLE FRIEND, and had the indescribable baseness to state broadly that "*the public, now, cared little or nothing about reform: that the government was now carried on in such a satisfactory manner, that the people were grown quite lukewarm in the cause of reform.*" Finally, of that Canning who had spoken and voted in favour of the "**GAGGING AND DUNGEONING BILLS**" for silencing the reformers in 1817; who had impudently declared that *he would preserve Gatton and Old Sarum*; and who, though the bastard son of a play-actress himself, had saucily declared that HE would "**MAKE A STAND AGAINST DEMOCRATICAL ENCROACHMENT**," and who had contemptuously called the advocates of parliamentary reform, "**A LOW, DEGRADED CREW.**"

January 26, 1832. Lord Althorp informed the House that it was the intention of the Government to appoint a FAST-DAY. Into this stupid intention they had been badgered by the incessant and awful denunciations of two or three furious fanatics, members of that House; but more particularly by one Perceval, a pious pensioner, and a most bigoted and crazy disciple of the bigoted and crazy parson Irving.

The fast-day was held on the 21. of March, 1832, and on that day there was a procession of the different bodies of the productive classes through the streets of the metropolis, who went peaceably along; but, when almost at the end of their march, the new POLICE SOLDIERS

fell upon them with their bludgeons, and dispersed them, without any attempt at opposition on their parts, they not having even a walking-stick amongst them, being determined not to give rise to any suspicion of their being likely to cause a breach of the peace. Throughout the remainder of the day large bodies of these POLICE SOLDIERS were to be seen prowling about, as if watching for their victims, ARMED WITH BROAD-SWORDS BY THE WHIG GOVERNMENT!!

April 13, 1832. The Whig Premier, Lord Grey, who had declared that a less measure of reform than that contained in the bill which was brought forward by him, for parliamentary reform, never should have his support, and that he would not suffer the principles of the bill to be altered, yet on this day he said, "*Although I think 56 boroughs ought to be disfranchised, and although I think the ten-pound franchise is not too great an extension of the qualification, still THESE PROVISIONS ARE NO PART OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE BILL, AND THESE PROVISIONS MAY BE ALTERED IN PERFECT CONSISTENCY WITH ITS PRINCIPLES*"!!

August 1, 1832. The Whigs proposed to the Parliament to give a retiring pension to the Speaker of the House of Commons, the Tory Sir C. Manners Sutton, of 4,000*l.* a year for his life; to which proposition the Parliament agreed; and also to give his son a reversion of 3,000*l.* a year for his life, although that son has a sinecure place already, as Registrar of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, for which he has 3,000*l.* a year, which he is to hold in addition to the reversion of his father's pension. Mr. Hunt, the representative, *par excellence*, of the people of Preston and of "*all the unrepresented people of England*," supported this measure by saying that "*if the vote had been for 5,000*l.* a year he would have agreed to it.*"

March 29, 1833. The Whigs carried the "**IRISH COERCION BILL**," a bill which was known by the title of "*the brutal and bloody bill*," which subjected the people of Ireland to **BE TRIED BY COURTS MARTIAL**. In opposition to this bill Mr. Cobbett moved the following

resolution: "Resolved, That this House, " seeing in this bill the substitution of " military courts for courts consisting of " judges and jurors; seeing in it the " abrogation of all the most precious institutions of the country; seeing clearly that its main purpose is to keep in " the hands of the present aristocracy " the plunder of the ancient church " and the poor, which the ancestors of " that aristocracy obtained by apostacy, " and which has been retained by the " cruel penal laws and by the shedding " of innocent blood; and suspecting, " moreover, that this bill is intended as " a prelude to the adoption of similar " measures in Great Britain, this House " will read this bill this day six months." This resolution was negatived, and the bill was passed; Mr. Stanley, the then Secretary for Ireland, declaring that "THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE FEARED BEFORE IT CAN BE LOVED"!!!

April 26, 1833. The House of Commons agreed to a resolution for taking off half the malt-duty, and on the following Tuesday, April 30, they on the motion of Lord Althorp, the WHIG Chancellor of the Exchequer, RESCINDED THAT VOTE by a large majority!!!

April, 1833. The Whig Ministry opposed Mr. Grote's motion for voting by ballot at elections. Lord Althorp, who had spoken in favour of the ballot, at Northampton, when before his constituents, opposed it in the House of Commons, as became a genuine Whig Minister. As did also, the Right Honourable Edward Ellice, Secretary at War, although he had solemnly PLEDGED HIMSELF to his constituents at Coventry, that he would vote for that motion!!

May 2, 1833. Lord Althorp, on the subject of the renewal of the Bank charter, proposed to the House of Commons to make Bank-of-England notes a LEGAL TENDER, and that, in PERPETUITY; although he had, only one short month before, objected to Mr. Matthias Attwood's motion for inquiring into the state of the nation (and proof was offered his lordship, that the distress amongst tradesmen was so great, that within FIVE YEARS the proportion of bankruptcies, for Regent-street alone, was more than ONE

IN THREE; and that, mind, independent of compositions, of which three, at least, take place for each bankruptcy), principally, because one part of that honourable Member's plan was, an issue of paper-money and the MAKING SUCH PAPER-MONEY A LEGAL TENDER!!

May 3, 1833. Mr. Cobbett brought forward his motion in the House of Commons, for the equalization of the stamp-duties, and complained that under the law as it now stands "the various duties " on legacies, and on property coming " by in-estate succession, are imposed " applicable to different degrees of relationship between the legatees and " the successors and the deceased, beginning at one per cent., and going on " to ten per cent.; but that freehold property is wholly exempt from this tax, " and that, of course, the large estates " of the nobility and landed gentry " (including advowsons and lay-tithes) are " exempted; while if a deceased leave a " thousand pounds to a distant relation, " that relation will have to pay ONE " HUNDRED POUNDS."

The honourable Member said that "If " a man leave property above the value " of twenty pounds, his successors have " to pay a stamp-duty of two per cent.; " but if a person leave from thirty thousand to half a million pounds the duty " is but one-and-a-half per cent."

He complained that "In conveyances " the duty on any thing of five pounds " value is ten shillings (or ten per cent.), " whilst if the property conveyed be of " five hundred thousand pounds value, " the duty will be only one thousand " pounds (only  $\frac{3}{16}$  per cent.), and in such " a case the POOR MAN would have to " pay MORE THAN FORTY TIMES AS MUCH " AS THE RICH MAN on the same sort of " property."

After showing that the POOR MAN is made, under the present stamp-duties, to pay, in some cases, SEVEN TIMES more than the RICH MAN, and in some cases a THOUSAND TIMES MORE, the honourable Gentleman concluded by moving the following resolution: "That " this House will, with as little delay as " possible, make such an alteration in " the several acts, imposing duties on



"not disposed to depart." The statement, to which this right honourable Whig alluded, was the following: "If, therefore, it should be attempted in another Parliament, to bring forward any of those sweeping motions for shortening the duration of Parliaments, and extending yet further the elective franchise; or of introducing that which I believe is falsely styled the protection of the ballot; to those measures we, as individuals and as members of the Government, are BOUND (and I announce it at once and openly) TO GIVE OUR DETERMINED AND DECIDED OPPOSITION."

July 31, 1833. The Whigs passed a vote for TWENTY MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING to be given to indemnify the owners of slaves for any loss that they may sustain in consequence of a PARTIAL ABOLITION of slavery; in consequence of a partial abolition of that sort of traffic which, they said, was "A VIOLATION OF THE LAWS OF GOD AND MAN." The Minister, at first, proposed lending the proprietors of slaves ten millions of pounds: after a while he said that he should propose the lending of fifteen millions (and, mind, this was a proposition to lend money to the slave-owners to compensate them for the loss of slave-labour, whilst the Government had endeavoured to prove, to the owners of slaves, that free-labour was more productive than slave-labour); but, after the presentation of a petition signed by 278,000 females, he boldly proposed the GIVING OF TWENTY MILLIONS; and that proposition was carried by a great majority, and must be paid, in part, by poor labourers of Dorsetshire out of their TWO SHILLINGS AND SEVENPENCE a week!

July, 1833. The Whigs proposed and carried a vote for 1,000,000*l.* out of the taxes to be paid to the Protestant clergy in Ireland, in lieu of arrears of tithes which they were unable to collect, although they had the assistance of a large army and courts martial for the trial of criminals, both of which were provided for their aid by the Whigs.

August, 1833. They passed the "ANATOMY BILL," giving to overseers and

parochial officers the power, in some cases, of selling to the surgeons, FOR THE PURPOSE OF DISSECTION, the bodies of persons who die in poor-houses; but were cunning enough not to insert in that bill any clause consigning the carcasses of state-paupers to the dissecting-knife.

1833. The Whigs refused to abolish flogging in the army; and Sir J. C. Hobhouse, who had always professed the principles of radical reform, and had most loudly declaimed against flogging, but who had become a member of the Whig Ministry as SECRETARY AT WAR, now strongly opposed the abolishing of that disgusting and horrible practice, and supported, in their opposition to the putting an end to it, that very Whig party whom he had formerly described, both in speaking and in writing, as a party always "pernicious to England," and always "actuated by selfish motives;" as always having been "arrogant," "overbearing," "selfish," "false," "boasting," "interested," "tricky," "mean," "shallow," "deceitful," "jealous," and "impotent." How true is all this! Yet he joined this party, became renegade to his principles and voted against the motion for abolishing flogging in the army!

March, 1834. The Whig Government prosecuted six agricultural labourers at Dorchester, for having administered oaths of secrecy to persons on becoming members of a society called the "Trades' Union"; which society was formed for the protection of the class to which they belonged, against the arbitrary reduction of the price of their labour by their employers.

These poor fellows were found guilty of the charge alleged against them, and, to the astonishment of the whole kingdom, were sentenced by Williams (a new-made judge) to SEVEN YEARS TRANSPORTATION!!! The nation wondered where the judge found law for his purpose; but faith he did find it, and that too in an act passed in the 37th year of George the Third, being chap. 123. of the year 1797, the whole of which act relates to oaths administered, or taken, for the purpose of seducing persons serving his Majesty by sea or by land; and which was passed

in consequence of the *mutiny in the fleet*. And yet under this act it was that this judge sentenced these men, whose only crime was *combining to raise their wages*; and it was proved on their trial that one of them had but *five shillings a week to live upon*, and that another of them had but *seven shillings a week to live upon and to support a WIFE AND SIX CHILDREN*; neither of whom had the smallest notion of doing any thing illegal, nor of having any thing to do with politics.

Petitions for the pardon of these poor men were signed by upwards of *five hundred thousand* of their fellow countrymen; the *Whigs* would not listen to the prayers of these just and humane petitioners, but immediately ordered these *six hapless victims to be transported BEYOND THE SEAS*, where they now are *working as felons and mixing with felons*, and their consolation is, that they have the sympathy of *millions* of their countrymen, and that those countrymen will not suffer *want* to approach the *wives and helpless children* that were dependent on the daily labour of their expropriated husbands and fathers.

Mr Hutt, M. P., on presenting a petition for the pardon of these men, from Kingston-upon-Hull, deplored the conduct of Government towards them, and said that it was clear that *they were not punished for taking or administering a secret oath*, BUT FOR HAVING BEEN MEMBERS OF THE "TRADES' UNION."

(To be continued).

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

3. April, 3 o'clock Morning.

THE division on Lord John Russell's motion relative to the appropriation of the Irish tithes has just taken place; there has appeared,

For the Motion . . . 322

Against it . . . . . 289

Leaving the Minister in a minority of thirty-three. Sir R. Peel concluded his speech about half after one, and Lord

John Russell, his reply, something approaching half after two. After this the House went into a committee on the resolution, progress was reported, and it was determined that the House should meet again and go into a committee to-day at five o'clock.

It would be impossible, with the little time that I have before me, to convey even a faint idea of the interest excited by the proceedings of the night. A very fine speech from Mr Sergeant Wilde during the evening. Mr. O'Connell, in not a very long, but very interesting speech, preceded Sir R. Peel. At last came he, with those talents of which a nation might be proud; and, in the course of two hours did every thing which it appeared possible for man to do to resist the resolution. He felt that he was defeated; and that feeling was manifest throughout the whole of his long, most ingenious, and most eloquent speech. There was *in himself* every thing which could merit success; but the circumstances were too hostilely powerful for him to control. Like the Rhodian sailors, in the storm, so beautifully described by Dryden, "From the first he laboured in despair." Under such circumstances it is beyond the power of mortal man to retain the fair use of all his talents; but, he did retain them to a very extraordinary degree even to the end. When he concluded his speech by telling us, explicitly: "If you carry your resolution, I will oppose you in going into a committee: if you go into a committee, I will oppose you there: if you persevere in proposing your address to the King, I will oppose you there: I will oppose you at every stage, in this proceeding; and if my opposition be unavailing, I will quit the situation in which his Majesty has done me the honour to place me; for I will not be the instrument for the carrying the principle of your resolution into effect."

For my own part, while it was impossible for me not to hear this with great approbation; not to admire this part of the conduct of the Minister, I cannot say that I did not hear these words with pleasure, as the announcement of the approaching end of his power; for, I had



constantly in my mind the recollection of his attempt to enforce the Poor-law bill, and of his most injurious opposition to the repeal of the malt-tax: and now, are not my words already come true? If he had given way with regard to those most unpopular and odious measures, not only would he not have been defeated upon this occasion, but *the motion of Lord J. Russell never would have been made*. He seemed to think that he had "*public opinion*" with him; and that the feeling out of the House did not correspond with the feeling within the House; and thus it is to be surrounded by flatterers. Never was error more gross in this world: the country is suffering in every limb and every fibre. Two hundred thousand insolvent farmers, and, perhaps, five hundred thousand insolvent tradesmen, will suffer no Minister to be popular; will suffer no man to sit upon that bench for any length of time without passing some measure to relieve their distresses. I told Sir R. Peel, in answer to his manifesto, that if he would take off the malt-tax, and at least suspend the operation of the horrible Poor-law bill, the people would be patient; that they, who are never unjust or unreasonable, would give time for the consideration of all matters relative to church reform, and every other reform; but that if he obstinately refused to yield upon these two points, and especially with regard to the malt-tax, that the millions would leave him to be dealt with by the ten-pounders; and that the mercy that they would have for him, and for the establishments to which he is attached, would very much resemble the mercy that a mouse receives at the hands of a cat. From the first I told him that he had no strength, except in those vulgar millions which he seems so much to despise. If all the church bells had been set a-ringing on account of the repeal of the malt-tax, which they would have been; if his health had been drunk, by all the men with hard hands, never would he have heard of the motion of Lord John Russell. I am for a *thorough* church reform. *My friends did not deem it prudent that I should say how much I wanted*; but, if I had seen all the hard-handed fellows

with pots of beer drinking his health, I should have taken especial care to *postpone* any thing that I had to propose about church-reform, or Irish tithes, or any thing of the sort. Now, this will be called very vulgar politics: it is common sense; and that is a great deal better than any other thing that you can resort to in such a case. The people are sulky, and very justly sulky: they see no hope of any relief of any sort: they naturally associate the Minister and the Ministry with the causes of their discontent. Placed in this state the attack upon him was sure to prevail; for, I repeat for the thousandth time, I verily believe, that, under heaven this church of England and this aristocracy have nothing to rest any hope upon but *the good will of the millions of the people of England*.

Now, then, will the Whigs come again? One would think that they had now seen enough to convince them that fifty millions of taxes a year, and wheat at four shillings and six-pence a bushel, cannot be pushed along. However, the chances are that my prediction of 1817, will be fulfilled, "that there will be an everlasting chopping and changing of the ministry; that the whole system, military, civil, and fiscal, will be attempted to be carried on with unabated vigour and unabated suffering on the part of the people, till at last, amidst the war of opinions and of projects, of interests and of passions, the whole thing will go to pieces like a ship upon the rocks."

### SEED BAGS.

The following is a list of the Seeds in the bag. A copy of it will be found in each bag. Each bag is 10s. 6d. There are *no larger bags*; because it has been found inconvenient; and, in the case of *LARGE GARDENS*, two or three bags may be had; which will be convenient, too, for *different sowings*. I trust that the Seeds will now be found to be *safely done up*; and I pledge myself for their *goodness*. The number on the bags tells the *sort* that is within.

Owing to an accident, the list is *not quite alphabetical*; but, this is of no importance.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Windsor Bean.
3. Long-pod Bean.
4. Early Masagan Bean.
5. Scarlet Running Kidney Bean.
6. White Running Kidney Bean.
7. Black Dwarf Kidney Bean.
8. Dun ditto
9. Speckled ditto.
10. Beet, blood Red.
11. White Brocoli.
12. Purple ditto.
13. Early York Cabbage.
14. Savoy.
15. Scotch Kale.
16. Carrot.
17. Cauliflower.
18. Celery.
19. Chervil.
20. Cress.
21. Endive.
22. Leek.
23. White Coss Lettuce.
24. Mustard.
25. Onion.
26. Parsnip.
27. Parsley.
28. Knight Pea.
29. Early Scarlet Radish.
30. White Turnip Radish.
31. Spinage.
32. Squash.
33. Garden Turnip.
34. Cucumber.
35. Green Cabbage Lettuce.
36. Green Coss Lettuce.
37. Cobbett Corn.
38. Early Dwarf Cabbage.
39. Early Battersea Cabbage.
40. Early-frame Pea.
41. Dwarf Marrowfat Pea.
42. Tall Marrowfat Pea.

N.B. I have no *Cis-Alpine Strawberry Seed*; but, packets of *fine plants*, at 2s. 6d. each packet; which will bear great crops this year. To be had at Bolt-court.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, MARCH 27.

#### INSOLVENTS.

MACKAY, B., jun., Sturt Farm, Gloucestershire, cattle-dealer.  
NICHOLS, R., Wakefield, bookseller.  
SMITH, T., jun., East Grinstead, Sussex, chemist.

#### BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

HAVERS, H., Hadleigh, Suffolk, linen-draper.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ALLISON, T., Manchester, warehouseman.  
ANDREWS, H., Bristol, paper-hanger.  
CAMPBELL, C., Arundel-street, Strand, lodging-house-keeper.  
CUNNINGHAM, J., sen., and J. Cunningham, jun., Spalding, Lincolnshire, iron-mongers.  
EYRE, E., Wells-street, Oxford-street, blind-maker.  
GLOVER, S., Thackley, Yorkshire, cloth-manufacturer.  
HACKWORTH, R., Moulton, Lincoln, carpenter.  
HARDY, E., Swanage, Purbeck, Dorsetshire, innkeeper.  
JOHNSON, R., Sneinton, Nottinghamshire, lace-manufacturer.  
KNIGHT, J., Hastings, Sussex, innkeeper.  
LEONARD, J., Rugeley, Staffordshire, bookseller.  
MITCHELL, W. B., Sheffield, merchant.  
SPICER, W., Tower-street, Seven Dials, licensed-victualler.  
SMITH, J., Manchester, merchant.  
SWANN, H., Great Knight Ryder-street, money-scrivener.  
WHITLEY, J., Liverpool, money-scrivener.

TUESDAY, MARCH 31.

#### INSOLVENT.

BARBER, J., Cateaton-street, dressing-case-maker.

#### BANKRUPTCIES ENLARGED.

BATES, J., Bellevue-place, Clapham, linen-draper.  
LAWES, J., Wick and Abson, Gloucestershire, miller.

#### BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BETTELEY, J., Liverpool, painter.  
MEEK, J., Hampstead, Middlesex, livery-stable-keeper.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ARNOLD, M., Tavistock-street, Covent-garden, bookseller.  
BAKER, G., Davies-street, Berkeley-square, iron-monger.



BROWN, J., Workington, Cumberland, mer-  
cer.  
HANKES, W., Macclesfield, brewer.  
IDLE, T., Manchester, fishmonger.  
GLOSSOP, J., Victoria Theatre, Waterloo-  
road, printer.  
GRAY, S. F., New Bond-street, chemist.  
NEIRINEKX, A., Hammersmith, Middlesex,  
builder.  
WHITE, J., Barton-under-Needwood, Staf-  
fordshire, druggist.  
WATERFIELD, T., Dunstable, Bedfordshire,  
straw-hat-manufacturer.  
WITHERDEN, J. S., Margate, blacksmith.

### LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, March 30.

—Our arrivals of English grain since this day week have not been large, and of Irish grain, very moderate: but there has been a fair supply of Scotch Oats.

Wheat sold on much the same terms as this day week.

Barley slow sale, and 1s. per qr. cheaper than last Monday, owing to a good deal of foreign being entered at the present duty, and offering for sale on the market. Malt very dull sale.

Our supplies of Oats fall short of the expectations of our buyers, and we experienced in consequence this morning a good demand for the article at an advance of 6d. per quarter over the rates of this day week, and there is every appearance of this article having been at the lowest.

In corn under lock nothing doing.

|                                 |              |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| Wheat, English, White, new .... | 42s. to 50s. |
| Old .....                       | 48s. to 50s. |
| Red, new .....                  | 38s. to 42s. |
| Old .....                       | 38s. to 40s. |
| Lincolnshire, red .....         | 36s. to 41s. |
| White .....                     | 42s. to 44s. |
| Yorkshire, red .....            | 36s. to 40s. |
| White .....                     | 40s. to 42s. |
| Northumberl. & Berwick .....    | 36s. to 39s. |
| Fine white .....                | 37s. to 41s. |
| Dundee & choice Scotch .....    | 40s. to 42s. |
| Irish red, good .....           | 35s. to 36s. |
| White .....                     | 38s. to 40s. |
| Rye .....                       | 30s. to 34s. |
| New .....                       | 34s. to 36s. |
| Barley, English, grinding ..... | 24s. to 28s. |
| Distilling .....                | 28s. to 32s. |

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Malting .....                                | 32s. to 35s. |
| Chevalier .....                              | 38s. to 41s. |
| Malt .....                                   | 44s. to 54s. |
| Fine new .....                               | 56s. to 64s. |
| Beans, Tick, new .....                       | 34s. to 36s. |
| Old .....                                    | 38s. to 40s. |
| Harrow, new .....                            | 36s. to 38s. |
| Old .....                                    | 40s. to 42s. |
| Peas, White, English .....                   | 34s. to 36s. |
| Foreign .....                                | 34s. to 36s. |
| Gray or Hog .....                            | 34s. to 36s. |
| Maples .....                                 | 36s. to 38s. |
| Oats, Polands .....                          | 23s. to 26s. |
| Lincolnshire, short small .....              | 22s. to 24s. |
| Lincolnshire, feed .....                     | 21s. to 23s. |
| Yorkshire, feed .....                        | 22s. to 23s. |
| Black .....                                  | 23s. to 25s. |
| Northumberland and Ber-<br>wick Potato ..... | 25s. to 26s. |
| Ditto, Angus .....                           | 24s. to 25s. |
| Banff and Aberdeen, com. .....               | 24s. to 25s. |
| Potato .....                                 | 25s. to 27s. |
| Irish Potato, new .....                      | 22s. to 23s. |
| Feed, new light .....                        | 19s. to 21s. |
| Black, new .....                             | 21s. to 22s. |
| Foreign feed .....                           | 22s. to 24s. |
| Danish and Pomerian, old .....               | 20s. to 21s. |
| Petersburgh, Riga, &c. ..                    | 22s. to 23s. |
| Foreign, in bond, feed ..                    | 12s. to 14s. |
| Brew .....                                   | 16s. to 18s. |

### SMITHFIELD, March 30.

In this day's market, which was throughout but moderately supplied, trade was, with prime small Lamb, somewhat brisk, at an advance of about 2d. per stone; while Beef, Mutton, the larger kind of Lamb, Veal, and Pork, sold more freely than on a series of past market-days, at Friday's prices.

About 1,900 of the beasts, fully 1,000 of which were Scots, the remainder about equal numbers of Devons, Shorthorns, Welch runts, and homebreds, with a few Irish beasts, came for the most part (say 1,500 of them) from Norfolk; the remainder from Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 100, chiefly Shorthorns, Devons, and Scots, with a few Irish beasts, from our northern districts, but very few of them either from Lincolnshire or Leicestershire, the droves from the former were said, in Smithfield, to consist of but three beasts, between two drovers, about 150, chiefly Herefords, Devons, and Welsh runts, with a few Scots and Irish beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 140, a full moiety of them Sussex beasts, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey; and most of the remainder, including about 30 lusty Townsend cows, from the stall-feeders, &c. near London.

Fully two-thirds of the Sheep were new Leicesters, in about equal numbers of the Southdown and white-faced crosses; a full moiety of both out of the wool, about a sixth

Southdowns, and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, horned and polled Norfolks, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of old Lincolns, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

Per stone of 8lbs. sinking offal.

|               | s. | d. | s.   | d. |
|---------------|----|----|------|----|
| Inferior Beef | 2  | 0  | to 2 | 2  |
| Ditto Mutton  | 2  | 2  | to 2 | 4  |
| Middling Beef | 2  | 6  | to 2 | 10 |
| Ditto Mutton  | 2  | 8  | to 3 | 0  |
| Prime Beef    | 3  | 6  | to 4 | 0  |
| Ditto Mutton  | 3  | 6  | to 4 | 0  |
| Veal          | 3  | 6  | to 5 | 0  |
| Pork          | 3  | 0  | to 4 | 0  |
| Lamb          | 5  | 4  | to 6 | 4  |

#### THE FUNDS.

|             |      |      |      |       |      |       |
|-------------|------|------|------|-------|------|-------|
| 3 per Cent. | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. | Wed. | Thur. |
| Cons Ann.   | 91½  | 91½  | 91½  | 92½   | 92½  | 91½   |

#### MORISON'S MEDICINES.

Cure of extreme Internal Suffering.

To Mr. HASLETT.

SIR,—I return you my sincere thanks for the Pills (Morison's Universal Medicines), which I received from you, through the medium of Captain Brown, whose kindness to me will never be erased from my heart, until it shall cease to beat. And, sir, I consider it a duty incumbent on me, for the good of others, to let you know the benefit I have received: for, having been bad upwards of three years with the liver complaint and dysentery, which I first got in India, and where I had the best advice, but with no beneficial effect, and returned home, reduced to the lowest ebb of existence. Here, sir, I tried all I could, but got little relief, having a constant pain in the side and shoulder, with pain in the head and the pit of my stomach; I could not bear to be touched, as there was a settled gnawing pain. I was very costive, and seldom had my bowels open but through the aid of medicine: but, thanks be to God, since I have taken Morison's Pills, I am not like the same person. They have brought a great deal of black blood and slime from me. The pain has quite left my side and shoulder; and also that soreness and heavy pressure at the pit of my stomach has gone, and my head feels quite well. Indeed, sir, I feel altogether a new person. During the time that I was bad I had upwards of 1,800 leeches applied; bled six times, cupped four times; a seton below the pit of the stomach for three months, besides twenty-eight blisters, and three times salivated. Once the mercury would not take

effect inwardly, and I was rubbed in with it in my arms and legs. So, sir, I leave you to judge what a state I must have been in. And now, sir, thanks be to that Divine Being, who has once more restored me to my health, for to his goodness I can alone attribute this great change.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

WM. HENRY HAYLEY.

22, Chatham-place, New Town,  
Walworth, Sept. 10, 1834.

To Noblemen, Gentlemen, the Veterinary Profession, and every Person engaged in the Breed and Rearing of Cattle.

#### JOHN READ, INSTRUMENT MAKER

to his Majesty, Patentee of the Stomach Pump, &c., is now enabled to lay before the Public a much improved form of his Stomach Pump and Injecting Instrument for horses, cattle, sheep, and dogs, by which diseases hitherto almost invariably fatal may be successfully treated, and diseases of the stomachs of ruminants admit of immediate and certain relief. J. Read has also added to the former apparatus of the pump a flexible tube, by which the bladder of the horse and other large animals can, with the greatest ease, be injected or ejected. This, in retention of urine and difficulty of staling, and several other complaints of the urinary organs, has been a desideratum long wished for but not obtained.

Manufactured and sold by John Read, 35, Regent-circus, Piccadilly.

#### CHEAP CLOTHING FOR THE SEASON,

SWAIN AND CO.'s Tailors, 93, Fleet-street, near the avenue leading to St. Bride's church.

FOR CASH ONLY.

|                              |   |    |   |
|------------------------------|---|----|---|
| A Suit of Superfine Clothes  | 4 | 18 | 0 |
| Ditto; Blue or Black         | 5 | 10 | 0 |
| Ditto, Imperial Saxony cloth | 6 | 0  | 0 |
| Petersham Great coat         | 3 | 3  | 0 |
| A Suit of Livery             | 4 | 10 | 0 |

And every other article equally cheap.

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT.

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's court; and published by him at 41, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.